

Message Text

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ORIGIN ARA-14

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TO AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PEPR, PBOR, EAID, PARM, PE

SUBJECT: APRISTA ARMANDO VILLANUEVA MEETS WITH DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

1. SUMMARY. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MCNEIL MET WITH
APRA CO-SECRETARY GENERAL ARMANDO VILLANEUVA ON APRIL 20
AND IN A WIDE RANGING CONVERSATION THEY DISCUSSED THE
FUTURE OF THE "RETORNO" PROCESS IN PERU, ARMS LIMITATIONS,
BOLIVIAN SEA OUTLET NEGOTIATIONS AND SAFEGUARDS FOR
PANAMA CANAL USERS. VILLANUEVA'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE
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POLITICAL TRANSITION PROCESS IN PERU AND QUESTIONS CON-
CERNING US REACTION TO A CHANGE IN THE SCENARIO SUGGEST
THAT APRA AND ESPECIALLY VILLANUEVA ARE SERIOUSLY CON-
TEMPLATING POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE TIMETABLE AND
PROCEDURE NOW BEING FOLLOWED BY THE GOP. VILLANUEVA
WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A PERUVIAN NATIONAL, DR. CESAR ATALA,
DESCRIBED AS IDB FUNCTIONARY AND AN APRA STALWART WITH

ECONOMIC EXPERTISE. ARA/AND OFFICE DIRECTOR BARNEBEY AND PERUVIAN DESK OFFICER KEMP WERE ALSO PRESENT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS APRIL 20 MEETING WITH DAS MCNEIL, VILLANUEVA ASKED WHAT US REACTION WOULD BE IF "RETORNO" PROCESS,

WERE TO BE ALTERED BY THE MILITARY. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION HAS AWAKENED LITTLE PUBLIC INTEREST TO DATE THOUGH INTEREST MAY PERK UP. WHILE PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ REMAINS CONVINCED THAT THE TRANSITION PROCESS MUST CONTINUE, SOME OF THE MILITARY WOULD LIKE TO SEE IT UPSET. VILLANUEVA SAID A REGIME IN PINOCHET MOLD WAS NOT LIKELY. MCNEIL RESPONDED THAT THE US FULLY SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIZATION IN PERU. WE WILL NOT PRESCRIBE FORMULAS, BUT SHOULD THE MILITARY DO AWAY WITH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS OR RADICALLY ALTER IT, WE WOULD OBVIOUSLY FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO BE HELPFUL.

3. ON A RELATED SUBJECT VILLANUEVA DESCRIBED THE US POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS INDISPENSABLE FOR LATIN AMERICA. QUESTION, HE MAINTAINED, WAS HOW TO MAKE DEMOCRATIC IDEAS MORE PRAGMATIC AND TO APPLY THEM NOT ONLY TO POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES BUT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. MCNEIL EXPLAINED OUR BASIC HUMAN NEEDS AND MIDDLE-INCOME STRATEGY AS FLOWING FROM OUR OWN CONCERNS ON THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SCORE.

4. TURNING TO ARMS PURCHASES IN LATIN AMERICA, VILLANUEVA ARGUED THAT A GLOBAL INITIATIVE IS REQUIRED TO CONTROL SMALL-COUNTRY NATIONALISM WHICH COULD LEAD TO DISASTER. THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, CANNOT BE SOLVED BY INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY WHERE THESE ARE PITTED AGAINST MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS COMMANDING SUPERIOR FORCE AND POWER. APRA, HE SAID, FAVORS DISARMAMENT AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE STIMULUS OF A US DECLARATION THAT COUNTRIES SPENDING LESS FOR ARMS AND MORE FOR SOCIAL NEEDS WILL RECEIVE INCREASED AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION (A DEVELOPMENT DIVIDEND). MCNEIL NOTED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVED TO LIMIT ARMS SALES. WE ARE ALSO APPEALING TO OTHER SUPPLIERS FOR RESTRAINT AND SEEKING WAYS TO DAMPEN DEMAND. HE NOTED THAT PERU'S ARMS PURCHASES HAD CONTRIBUTED CONSIDERABLY TO ITS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. HE INQUIRED AS TO THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE AYACUCHO INITIATIVE; NO SPECIFIC REPLY WAS FORTHCOMING.

5. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM MCNEIL ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR A BOLIVIAN OUTLET TO THE SEA, VILLANUEVA SAW NO

POSSIBLE MOVEMENT ON THE ISSUE FOR AT LEAST SIX MONTHS.
TO COMMENT THAT PERUVIAN ATTITUDE IS VERY SIGNIFICANT IN

THIS MATTER VILLANUEVA CLAIMED THAT THE ISSUE IS CONTINENTAL RATHER THAN BILATERAL IN NATURE AND IN SOME WAYS SIMILAR TO THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION, WHICH WAS VERY MUCH INFLUENCED BY HEMISPHERIC OPINION AND SAW THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENT ASSEMBLED IN WASHINGTON TO LEND SUPPORT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT. VILLANUEVA USED THE OPPORTUNITY TO ARGUE THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE CANAL USERS MUST BE PROTECTED AS PERTAINS TO TOLLS AND FREE PASSAGE, AND ADVOCATED A HEMISPHERIC FORCE TO MAINTAIN CANAL'S NEUTRALITY AFTER YEAR 2000. MCNEIL, NOTED THAT POSSIBILITY FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CANAL HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PASSED, AND SUGGESTED IF THE RIO TREATY IS STILL IN EXISTENCE AT THAT TIME IT MIGHT WELL SERVE TO PROTECT THE CANAL'S NEUTRALITY.

6. COMMENT: VILLANUEVA WAS NOT EXPLICIT CONCERNING THE KINDS OF ALTERNATIVES WHICH COULD UPSET THE "RETORNO" PROCESS NOR DID HE INDICATE WHETHER DISRUPTIVE ACTION MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATED PRIOR TO OR AFTER THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION. IMPLICATION WAS, HOWEVER, THAT ASIDE FROM OBVIOUS ALTERNATIVE OF A MILITARY COUP THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY INVOLVING SOME FORM OF MILITARY-CIVILIAN COLLABORATION.

7. IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH EINAUDI, VILLANUEVA WAS SOMEWHAT MORE SPECIFIC, ASKING WHAT THE US REACTION WOULD BE TOWARD A) A CIVILIAN COUP "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" IN NATURE AND "DEMO-LIBERAL" ECONOMICALLY; B) A RIGHTIST MILITARY COUP, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC BUT SUPPORTIVE OF ECONOMIC STABILIZATION; AND C) A MIXED MILITARY-CIVILIAN COUP THAT PRESUMABLY LIKE THE OTHERS WOULD RESULT IN POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS. EINAUDI INDICATED THAT THE US WOULD NOT LOOK WITH FAVOR ON ANY SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE BY THE MILITARY FROM THE CURRENT "RETORNO SCENARIO". VANCE

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